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even where the N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. has no direct economic power it is the decisive political force, above all, in border areas like the Maritime Territory of the Soviet Far East.

There are indications, however, that the police ministry has encountered certain difficulties among the Far Eastern Russians during the war and post-war period. Conditions were certainly favourable to a re-emergence of that Far Eastern regionalism which Soviet power has tried so hard to eliminate. The people of Vladivostok, in particular, must have felt once more that the natural destiny of their city was that of a window into the world. They saw the many American lend-lease shipments arriving in their harbour and were bound to draw certain conclusions about the desirability of international trade and Soviet-American co-operation. More than people in other parts of the Soviet Union must the Russian inhabitants of the Pacific coastal areas have resented the policy of rigid isolationism which the Soviet Government has pursued particularly since 1947.

This frame of mind of the 'Far Easterners' makes it understandable that the very existence of an American consulate in Vladivostok was a matter of concern to the Soviet Government. The building of the consulate was put under constant supervision and for long periods it was floodlit at night. In 1948, the Soviet Government used a flimsy pretext to demand from the United States that they should withdraw their consular personnel from the Pacific port. The measure had little importance for the Americans as the activities of the four American consular officials were extremely limited, but it had a certain symbolic significance. The closing down of the consulate was a way of telling the people of Vladivostok that their hopes of their city becoming a link between Russia and the West were once more doomed. Some years later the charge was made that the consulate had been the centre of a spy-ring. This accusation was first put forward in the short story *In a Seaside Town* ('V Primorskom Gorode') which the popular Soviet illustrated *Ogonyok* published in 1950. In the daily press the 'plot' was mentioned for the first time on February 8th, 1953, when *Izvestiya* wrote : 'In 1947, the organs of the state security service liquidated a spy-nest organized by the assistant naval attaché at the American consulate general of Vladivostok, Richard'. *Izvestiya* produced no further details nor any evidence to support its disclosure which it simply quoted from a book *The Secret Weapon of the Doomed*. This latter work had come out under the auspices of the Komsomol organization. The absurdity of the Vladivostok spy story does not preclude the possibility that many Russian Far Easterners in the late 'forties' and early 'fifties' were persecuted for pro-Western sentiments just as others had been victimized for alleged pro-Japanese leanings in the late 'thirties.'

The particular sensitiveness which the Soviet authorities have shown

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patriarchal literature which has to be banned, and no cultural societies which have to be closed down because of bourgeois romanticism. Even so the small peoples of the Far East adhere, just as other peoples do, to their national traditions which are closely linked with those primitive religious beliefs usually summed up under the collective name of 'Shamanism'.

Shamanism is fundamentally the belief in good and bad spirits. The exact nature of the belief varies from one tribe to the other. The spirits may be deified animals, they may be ancestors, or they may simply be the forces of nature. Shamanism is not based on an elaborate ecclesiastical organization, but there are, nevertheless, mediators between spirits and ordinary human beings. These mediators are called Shamans. They enjoy a great deal of respect and prestige in the tribal society and this alone would have been sufficient reason to make them 'Enemy Number One' of the Soviet régime in all National Districts and National Areas inhabited by the Far Eastern aborigines.

The régime has charged the Shamans with many crimes, in particular with being dishonest and with consciously deceiving the people. This accusation has been contradicted by many Russian and foreign anthropologists who have had first hand experience of the Far Eastern Shamans. They have made the point that most Shamans sincerely believe in their superior power and are firmly convinced of their ability to cure the sick and to talk to spirits or to deceased relatives. It does not seem that Shamans charged more than moderate fees for their services if they demanded payment at all.[25] According to P. E. Petri, Professor of Ethnology at the Irkutsk University, it was completely erroneous to suggest that the majority of the Shamans were charlatans exploiting the credulity of the natives. For the Shaman, Petri wrote as late as 1928, his vocation constituted a heavy obligation which the spirits had imposed on him. The Shaman knew respite neither by day nor by night. He might at any time be called out and had then to travel dozens of miles in any weather. The Shaman was rarely at home and his household was therefore neglected. As a rule the Shamans were poor and only those living together with their brothers were better off.[26]

According to official Soviet evidence the Shamans engaged in 'mad resistance' to the extension of Soviet power to the north. They disseminated 'provocative rumours' aimed at inciting the tribesmen against the Russians. These charges against the Shamans are reflected in a number of novels which Soviet writers have written on life in the Far East. For example, Syomushkin's novel, *Alitet goes to the Hills*, records the collective resignation of the chairmen of the tribal Soviets in a part of Chukotka, as the result of the evil influences of one important Shaman. These chairmen gathered one day in the tent of the Russian secretary of the Communist Party and surrendered to him their letters of appoint-

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ment. They tried to get rid of these credentials as quickly as possible, because they were believed to be bearers of the evil spirit. The resigning chairmen suggested that the local Shamans should be appointed in their place, as they would be more successful in dealing with the spirits. The Party secretary refused to comply with this request, and, after a great deal of arguing, most of the chairmen agreed to retain their credentials, and to resume their jobs.[25] In the novel, *Where the Sukpai river flows*, by Kimonko, which deals with the life of the Udege people, the Shaman is both anti-Soviet and anti-Russian. He expresses his political philosophy in the following words:—'It is better to be doomed than to go to the Russians. The Russians will make soldiers out of us and destroy us to a man... The Russians and the Udege are different people. The man of the forest has laws of his own. One must abide by these laws.'[26]

The Shamans preserved their influence throughout the 'twenties' and early 'thirties'. They played an important part in the resistance movement against collectivization. In fact, the terms 'Shaman' and 'kulak' became interchangeable in the official Soviet vocabulary. But this is the usual simplification with which communist anti-religious propaganda operates. An official Soviet analysis referring to the social origin of 300 Shamans showed that between 50 and 60 of them came from poor families (bednota) and only 5 to 10 per cent were 'kulak elements'. More discriminating Soviet writers have stated therefore that Shamans whilst belonging to various social groups constituted 'a reactionary counter-revolutionary force taking sides with native kulaks and semi-feudal elements'.[27]

In addition to collectivization the Shamans obstructed practically every measure taken by the Government in the economic, cultural and sanitary fields. The target figures of the economic plans could not be fulfilled because the Shamans dissuaded the natives from fishing and hunting on certain days or from killing certain animals, for instance walrus. Soviet newspapers and journals were boycotted because the Shamans agitated against their dissemination. Also the new schools in the Far North and the 'kultbazy'* suffered from the sabotage of the Shamans. The latter persecuted and threatened the lives of Soviet teachers, particularly those of Russian nationality.[28] They hindered the re-education of the northern tribes to a more healthy and hygienic life, and intimidated people to such an extent that they did not dare even to go near a Soviet medical station.[29]

Although there is likely to be substance in most of these charges, they

* The 'kultbazy' or 'Cultural Stations' are political, cultural, and scientific research centres which the Soviet régime organized in the Far North. 'Cultural Stations' usually include a boarding school, a kindergarten, crèches, a hospital, a first-aid post, a veterinary station, a metereological station and even a museum. Most 'Cultural Stations' later developed into townships. Out of the fifteen 'Cultural Stations' three were founded in the Far East, one for the Koryaks, one for the Lamuts and the third for Chukchi and Eskimos.

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538 756 It would appear from Soviet evidence that Shamanism experienced a certain revival during the war. Shamans, it is alleged, cunningly used the temporary absence of young communist educated people from the tribal areas to regain some of their former influence. The novel of the well-known Soviet writer Azhaev, *Far from Moscow*, which refers to conditions in a Nanai village contains, for instance, the following passage: 'He (the Shaman) had lain low for a time but resumed his evil practices when war broke out. He saw his chance to profit from the war by a crafty and insolent device. Many of the Nanai boys of the village had been called to the colours. They wrote letters home from the front, and the Shaman made his "prophecies" by these letters. His clients were mostly old women anxious about the fate of their sons, and he fleeced and fooled them to the top of his bent.'[23]

Soviet novels about post-war conditions in the Far East try to convey the impression that the Shamans have ceased to be figures that are respected and feared. The Shamans of these novels are desperately isolated and universally despised. In one case the Shaman is even an enemy agent whom the Americans have sent from Alaska to provoke 'acts of diversion' among the natives of the Soviet Far East.

Some of the Soviet charges made against the Shamans coincide more or less with the criticism which a Western colonial administrator would direct against the African witch-doctors and juju-men. Western and Soviet administrators will, however, often differ as to the way in which the Shaman and the juju-man are to be fought. In West Africa, though not in East Africa, the fight against the juju-man is no more than a campaign of enlightenment in favour of a more hygienic way of life. In other words it is an aim in itself. The fight against the Shaman in the Soviet Far East and Far North is only a small part of a great struggle which is aimed at crushing every kind of political and religious opposition.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

797 779 661 In the Far East and Far North the régime fights religion on 'two fronts'. If the liquidation of Shamanism is one aim of communist anti-religious policy, the total prevention of Christian missionary activities is another.

Christianity has had a certain influence on the small nationalities of the Far East. Missionaries preaching the faith in a God who loves and helps man, have tried with some success to oust from the hearts of the natives that deep-rooted fear which is accompanied by belief in evil spirits. But the work of the missionaries was far from being finished when the Soviet authorities interrupted it. As it often happens in Africa, the superstitions of paganism survived even where the Church made formal converts. Those Lamuts of Kamchatka, for instance, who accepted the

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208 773 shamans' fighting and exterminating the 'evil spirits'. Lenin and Stalin appear in these 'folk-tales' as legendary heroes, as eagles liberating the people from the 'bad black kite' (a Tunguz folk-tale), and, in particular, as something approaching 'sun-gods'.

208 773 538 It is understandable that the idea of the sun must have a powerful appeal for peoples living in Arctic and sub-Arctic regions. Everything associated with the sun is good, wonderful and divine. The Soviet régime has made ample use of this. The Soviet literary journal *Zvezda* rightly said that several volumes could be compiled from all the legends, stories, tales and songs in which Lenin and Stalin are depicted as heroes who gave to the people of the North the inextinguishable sun.[34] Typical of this 'sun literature' produced for the Far Eastern aborigines is the Nanai folk-tale – *Sun of the People*; – 'and there came a time when a hero (who, although living far away from the Nanai people, saw and knew everything) took the sun into his hands, and turned it in such a way that its warmest rays shone where it was dark, and where down-trodden peoples were suffering. And they then knew well-being, warmth and happiness. The name of the hero was Lenin. When a great disaster befell the earth – when Lenin died – bad people were pleased. They thought that the sun would stop shedding its light on the people, but their glee was shorter than the space of a minute, because the people's sun was guarded by another hero. He is the nearest friend and companion of Lenin, and his name is Stalin. Nobody can equal the strength of that hero. His eyes see everything that goes on on earth. His ears hear every-thing that people say. His brain knows all that people think. His heart contains the happiness and the woe of all peoples. The depth of his thought is as deep as the ocean. His voice is heard by all that inhabit the earth. Such is the greatest of the very greatest in the whole world. And he took the sun out of Lenin's hands, and lifted it very high. And since then happiness shines on earth, because it is impossible for the sun not to shine.'[35]

The same motif as in the Nanai tale *The Sun of the People* is to be found, with slight variations, in the poems and tales produced for the benefit of the other small ethnic groups of the Far East and Far North.

Something could be said even in favour of the Soviet 'sun' propaganda in as far as it banned the fear of 'evil spirits'. Unfortunately, the Soviet régime has replaced the fear of the spirits by the fear of its own power and the institutions and bogies which it has created. One of them is the wicked foreigner, always ready to attack the natives with the most ghastly and devastating weapons.

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known Soviet writer Pavlenko has referred to this problem in one of his novels in the following words, 'From the polar tundra down to Korea everybody dreams of women. Nowhere else do people get married as quickly as there. Widows do not exist in the Far East. Only the oldest women overcome by senility remain single'. There is a lot of truth in what Pavlenko said. The proportion of women in the population of the Far East diminishes the further one goes east. The 1926 census showed that for every 1,000 men there were 962 women in the area just east of Lake Baikal, 918 in the Amur region, 704 in the Pacific coastal region and 689 on Sakhalin island. This is an abnormal situation, though characteristic of the pioneer stage of colonization activities all over the world.

To make the balance between the two sexes more even, a movement was created designed to bring young girls to the F.E.T. It was associated with the name of an ordinary Soviet citizen, a young woman of twenty-two years of age, Valentina Khetagurova-Zarubina. Khetagurova was the wife of a major serving with the 'Special Far Eastern Army'. Her claim to fame was a letter which she addressed to the girls of the Soviet Union. The letter was published on February 5th, 1937, and is an extremely interesting document.[22] Official inspiration had certainly a lot to do with it, but the letter nevertheless had a personal touch, and in some passages the Russian woman triumphed over the communist official. The needs of the Far East, Khetagurova said, were great. 'We need fitters and turners, teachers and draftswomen, typists and accountants – all to the same degree'. In the event of a war Khetagurova promised different kinds of jobs. Women would then be employed as nurses, radio operators and even as machine gunners. She appealed to the personal pride of would-be migrants to the Far East; 'We want only bold, determined people, not afraid of difficulties'. She described the Far East as an exotic dreamland 'where still a short time ago there were only deer, tigers and lions' and where 'wonderful work, wonderful people and a wonderful future' would meet the girls.

More important than all this was the assurance which Khetagurova gave, not expressly, but by implication, namely, that every girl would find a husband in the Far East and possibly even one holding commissioned rank in the army. She told the girls of Soviet Russia her own personal success story: 'In the autumn I made the acquaintance of Major Khetagurov. My life became fuller and brighter when I became married to him. . . .' The Russian girls could not be told more clearly why they should follow the example of Valentina Khetagurova.

The Khetagurova letter had considerable success. By the end of 1937 as many as 70,000 Soviet girls had registered with the authorities as volunteers for the Far East, and many actually went there. They were called 'Khetagurovki' – Khetagurova girls.